20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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CHAPTER II

THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF NEGROS

This chapter will present, in bold outline, the cultural landscape of Negros Island with particular emphasis on the local area in which Siaton municipality and Barrio Caticugan are located. The material will place Caticugan in its larger setting, providing background for the succeeding chapters on agriculture, fishing and other aspects of material economy. The barriofolk, with their meager technology and crude implements, are in imtimate association with the seasonal rhythms of their land. The southwest monsoon brings moisture-laden air masses beginning in April and climaxing in August. The consequent rains begin the major agricultural cycle and end the fish corral period. The end of the southwest monsoon initiates a dry season with diminishing food supplies and consequently increases the food gathering activities of the barriofolk. The backward technology and cultural perspectives of the people hinder their exploitation of the latent potentialities of their land. Life in Caticugan is better understood in the light of a summary of landform regions, climatic conditions, edaphic factors, population distribution and transportation facilities of Negros Island.

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Climate

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Though climates detrimental to human occupance may be modified by man's technology, the economic use of any area is greatly influenced by prevailing climatic conditions. In Negros the average farmer's freedom in agricultural activities dependent on the climate is restricted because of meager technology and equipment. His selection from the alternatives that his land offers is limited severely by inability to emancipate himself from minor caprices of the climate. One crop failure due to inadequate or maldistributed rainfall may mean hunger or borrowing against the next harvest and possibly a debt for life.

[731]

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In Caticugan the tempo of many activities is closely adjusted with climatic variations. The transition, for example, from the dry to the wet season starts a series of changes in the lives of the barriofolk, and affects such activities as agriculture, fishing, house repair, food gathering, diet, transportation, and health. The day before the first heavy rains, Caticugan had the silent appearance of a deserted village with plows abandoned on their sides in the fields. The next day the rains came. In the drizzle which followed the downpour the fields suddenly came alive with men plowing the wet earth and women and children planting corn. Irregularity in climatic phenomena often results in disruption of the work cycle and economic patterns of the community.

period Asia cools more rapidly than the surrounding seas, creating high pressure centers over the continent. Due to these high pressure centers there is a general outflowing air movement that is deflected clockwise direction, arriving in the Philippines as the northeast monsoon. 132

During the period of the northeast monsoon abundant precipitation falls on Negros' north and northeastern coasts while the south and southwestern coastal areas are relatively dry. Cebu "milks" much of the moisture of the northeast monsoon before it reaches Negros making it less productive of precipitation than the southwest monsoon. It is during the northeast monsoon's period that the fish corrals of Siaton are built. [221]

The total rainfall map (Plate VII)[1] illustrates the annual distribution of precipitation in Negros. The island's eastern coast is the driest because of the less humid northeast monsoon, the proximity of Cebu Island and the Central Mountain range. The heaviest rainfall occurs on the slopes of this range and in parts of southern and west-central Negros. Though Siaton municipality receives nearly 95 inches of precipitation annually, the uneven distribution of this seemingly adequate moisture during the critical agricultural period sometimes results in partial crop failures or necessitates extensive replanting of many cornfields. [731]

1 [See p. 50, cat. 132 -- Analyst]

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The corn seasons reflect the precipitation patterns of the Southern Corn-Coconut region. The first corn crop is planted at the start of the rainy season, usually in April or May, depending on the locally available moisture. This crop is harvested at the end of the rainy season, normally from September to November, and about one-half of the land is replanted with a second corn crop.[87] Only a few fields are planted with a third corn crop, because of the lack of moisture in the ground.[88]

Because of different planting periods, the harvests in the southern region are staggered. In Sta. Catalina the first corn may be planted as early as late March while in the northern part of the same region, Amlan, for example, the fields may not be sowed until late May. As a result there are seasonal migrations of barriofolk from one locality to another to help in the harvests. The harvest migrations will be discussed more fully in Chapter IV of the barriofolk of Caticugan.

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[87]Hainsworth and Moyer, op. cit., p.53.

[88]A survey was made in 1948-49 of Barrio Malabo, Valencia municipality, where the third corn crop is planted in November and December. Marcelo V. Arnaldo, "A Study of the Economic and Social Conditions of the Mountain Barrio of Malabo, Valencia (Luzuriaga), Negros Oriental, Philippines." Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, Silliman University, 1949, p.10. Typescript.

these differences the barriofolk of Caticugan, and Negros Oriental, are mainly Cebuanos with dialect and customs different from those of Panayanos of Negros Occidental.

Recent improvements in transportation have brought most of the barriofolk of Caticugan closer to Dumaguete, the provincial capitol where American cultural patterns are most heavily concentrated. Yet they live on the periphery of the major traffic flow of this province. With their undeveloped technology and crude implements, the Caticugan barriofolk have adjusted their economy to the seasonal rhythms of the southwest and northeast monsoons, the former beginning their agricultural cycle. This chapter has described the general scenery of the "stage" where the barriofolk of Caticugan act out their lives.

An American visitor in Dumaguete would find much in the city to remind him of the United States. New Fords, modern buildings, the mode of dress, Hollywood cinemas and Silliman University with its American professors and English-speaking students would be visible signs of American influence. As he left Dumaguete for the rural areas of Negros, he would quickly enter a new milieu and the farther south he travelled the fewer clues he would find to suggest familiar scenes of his country.

Today one can catch an early morning bus from Dumaguete to Siaton poblacion. The faded green bus

River valley. Several landlords, residents of the poblacion, have sizeable holdings in Dolog or Common, and part of their share of the corn, rice, or peanuts raised by their tenants is sold for cash. None of these landlords, could in any sense of the word be considered wealthy. The "cash crops" of Caticugan are coconuts, vegetables and guhang, an alcoholic beverage made from the sap of the buri palm. For the majority of the people, guhang is probably the most important of these few "cash crops."

The remainder of this chapter discusses (1) agricultural calendar; (2) caingins; (3) lowland rice and corn agriculture; (4) the manufacture of guhang; (5) minor single crops of Caticugan (coconuts, cassava, camotes, etc.); (6) vegetables and other garden crops (tangkong, tobacco, etc.); (7) farm animals; (carabao, cattle, chickens, etc.); (8) cooperative labor groups; and (9) local agricultural extension activities. Plate XXI shows the land use patterns of Caticugan.[1]

THE AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN

The agricultural calendar of the barriofolk of Caticugan is synchronized with the seasons of southern Negros. Except for a small irrigated area in Barrio Caticugan, the farmers are totally dependent on precipitation of the southwest monsoon. The agricultural calendar should be read with these climatic conditions in mind. (See Chapter II.) The calendar, of course, varies a

1 [See p 272, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN AND ENVIRONS[6]

JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH
1 Harvest of second corn and lowland rice (Caticugan) 2 Caingin clearing begins 3 Mature cassava available 4 Month of large abaca sales in Siaton poblacion	1 Second corn crop harvest (Caticugan, Sandolot and Casala-an) 2 Peanuts mature (Apoloy and Dolog) 3 Caingin clearing--some begin to burn debris 4 Caingin rice planted above Dolog 5 Month of large abaca sales in poblacion 6 Ubi roots available 7 Few begin to plow fields for corn planting (Sandolot) 8 Third corn crop planted in Tampaga 9 Harvesting rice (Caticugan)	1 Begin first irrigated corn planting (B. Caticugan) 2 Plowing fields for first corn (Giliga-on) 3 Caingin clearing and burning continues in mountains 4 Ubi available 5 Begin to plant gardens, eggplants, tomatoes, opo, etc. (Caticugan)

[6]Irrigated corn is distinguished from non-irrigated corn in this calendar by stating that the former is irrigated. The calendar is devoted mainly to agricultural activities in Caticugan although some comparative data were gathered when traveling in the Siaton River valley and from informants living in other barrios.

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AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN AND ENVIRONS (Continued)

APRIL	MAY	JUNE
1 Continue first irrigated corn planting (B. Caticugan) 2 Plowing fields for first corn crop (Caticugan) with several farmers planting 3 Plowing fields and planting first corn (Datag, Talo-ot, and Canaway) 4 Planting vegetables (Caticugan) 5 Caingins burning 6 Some caingin rice and corn planted	1 Begin harvest of first irrigated corn (B. Caticugan) 2 Continue plowing fields and planting first corn (Caticugan) 3 Planting first corn while some corn 4"-5" high (Datag, Sandolot, Casala-an) 4 Planting vegetables (Caticugan) 5 Caingins burning and some planting rice 6 Some balatong planted. Opo mature 7 Rice beds planted (Canaway) 8 Mango season	1 Continue harvest of first irrigated corn (B. Caticugan) 2 Planting second irrigated corn (B. Caticugan) 3 Planting rice beds (Caticugan) 4 Planting vegetables (Caticugan) 5 Planting bananas (Caticugan) 6 Caingin rice planted 7 Mango season 8 Stringbeans and opo available 9 Migrations to harvest corn in other barrios

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AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN AND ENVIRONS (Continued)

JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER
1 Harvesting first irrigated corn and planting second irrigated corn (Caticugan) 2 Harvesting first corn crop (Caticugan) 3 All corn planted (Dangola) 4 All rice beds planted (Caticugan) 5 Transplanting rice in Canaway, Inalad, and Zamboanguita 6 Caingin rice planted 7 Stringbeans available 8 Planting corn and camotes in Bondo 9 Migration for corn harvests in other barrios 10 Cassava planted	1 Harvesting first and second irrigated corn (B. Caticugan) 2 Transplanting rice in Caticugan, Datag, and Talo-ot 3 Plowing paddies for transplanting (Caticugan) 4 Rice beds planted in Dangola 5 Caingin rice planted 6 Migrations to harvest corn in other barrios 7 Harvest of caingin corn (Bokgay) 8 Planting first corn in Dangola	1 Harvesting second irrigated corn (B. Caticugan) 2 Transplanting rice (Caticugan) 3 Harvesting caingin rice 4 Planting camotes (Dangola) 5 Transplanting rice (Dangola) 6 Harvesting peanuts (Caticugan and Dolog) 7 Wild mushroom gathered (Libgos variety)

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AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN AND ENVIRONS (Continued)

OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER
1 Plowing fields for second corn crop in Caticugan, Lamtoc, Sandolot, and Casala-an 2 End of month begin to plant second non-irrigated corn crop in Datag, Sandolot, and Caticugan 3 Planting bananas in Caticugan 4 Harvest of caingin rice 5 Plant second caingin corn	1 Planting second corn in Caticugan 2 Drying balatong beans in Caticugan 3 Digging for lahia roots 4 Bondo rice harvested 5 Planting peanuts in Talo-ot 6 Rice mature in Dangpla 7 Camote season begins 8 Rice harvest in Mayabon, Zamboanguita 9 Plowing fields and planting second corn in Bacong and Dauin 10 Small cassava roots available 11 Caingin rice harvest	1 Rice harvest in Caticugan, Dangola, Canaway and Datag 2 Big cassava roots available 3 Beginning of large abaca sales in poblacion 4 Camotes available

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little each year due to seasonal climatic fluctuations but the general pattern remains basically unchanged. 221 241

CAINGIN AGRICULTURE: INTRODUCTION

Four of the five Philippine methods of agricultural land use are practiced in Negros. There are no extensive areas of terraced land, although some terraces are found in Siquijor Island. The three most common agricultural systems in Negros are lowland intensive, plantation and mechanized agriculture--the latter in conjunction with sugar and rice plantations. Caingin agriculture is practiced by both pagan and Christian Filipinos in the piedmont regions of the Central Mountains, the Central Mountain Range, and the Tablas plateau. 241 311

Caingin shifting agriculture has been defined tersely as:

> "...the most primitive type of agriculture...an economy of which the main characteristics are rotation of fields rather than crops; clearing by means of fire; absence of draft animals and of manuring; use of human labor only; employment of the dibble stick or hoe; short periods of soil occupancy alternating with long fallow periods.[7]

Caingin is not always limited to hills and uplands as typical in Formosa, Indochina, Thailand and the Philippines. Frequently, as in Indonesia, this land use technique occurs on level areas. Pelzer states:

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[7] Pelzer, op. cit., p. 17. Pelzer has written an excellent account on caingin agriculture in the Philippines: Chapter 2: "The Shifting Cultivator."

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When the pig tries to pass through the opening into the caingin it trips the vine and releases an attached bamboo spear.

Caingin Crop Yields (Rice and Corn)

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In 1951 the Siaton caingin rice harvest began in September. During October I noticed large quantities of palay drying on mats in the poblacion. This, said the owners, came "from the caingins in the mountains." A considerable number of people from the barrios and the poblacion go to the caingins to assist in the harvest. The following interview with a male informant from Naga tells of these forages to caingins and also of the importance caingins sometimes have in the food gathering activities of the lowland barriofolk.

> When the Japs left we were happy. After they left we went to the mountains to look for food like bananas and camotes. When the hot season comes the owners of the caingins let us clear the caingins of the camotes that remain. They had dug for camotes before but did not get all of them. We had to clean the entire caingin of vines and we got all the camotes we found in doing this. Sometimes we bartered salt for bananas. Sometimes we were given bananas for clearing the caingins. Sometimes caingin owners gave us two gantas [one cavan equals twenty-five gantas] of corn a day for clearing their caingins. Sometimes many people go especially if they hear of a caingin which has plenty of camotes left. Men, women and children go. It does not take long to clean one caingin. We do not go to the mountains during the rainy season.
>
> Many people go to harvest upland rice. We did not go because the children could not reach the place--it is very far. [The informant is referring to 1951]. The places are north of Giliga-on, called Bantolinao, and Cmlog and Bokgay. We sometimes dig camotes and cassava. There are owners of caingins who will let the people dig and slice [to dry] cassava. Sometimes we will get one-third

or two-fifths of all we dig and slice. The caingin owners are busy then making a new caingin, this is why they are glad to see us. It is as if we had planted our own cassava. We live there and help make slices. Some of the people bring their own food and others get food from the caingin owners. We live in their houses.

Last year my wife went to Dodong's field in Padang. Mostly women went because it was during the plowing season. It was March. I did not go, just my wife. Our share was four sacks of mixed dried cassava and camotes chips. People in Padang live differently than the people in Naga. In the mountains one can plant many things. Here we just plow in season. In the mountains one can plant red squash, gabi, pesula [a variety of squash] sikwa [commonly called patola: Luffa acutangula Linn.]. There are no big houses in the mountains. They are not permanent because after three years the caingin owners have to look for another place to caingin.

Women and children are usually the ones that go to the mountains to harvest the caingins. I was told by some informants that "men would be olao [ashamed or embarrassed] to harvest rice in someone else's caingin. The people would say they did not know how to make their own caingin." However, some men do go, particularly the unmarried men (olitaos) who are said to "follow the dalagas [unmarried] young women." This is an interesting comment; for a young man courts a girl in the barrio under many handicaps. To be able to work and talk with her, away from the surveillance of the family, would have many advantages.[14]

Rice is cut one stalk at the time with a small knife. Rice heads are put into small baskets strapped to the harvester's side; later they are emptied into larger baskets. Rice is threshed and corn is harvested by the

[14] I never observed a caingin corn or rice harvest,

LOWLAND RICE

Introduction

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When the Spaniards first visited Negros in the middle of the 16th century Filipinos were cultivating rice. Probably rice had been brought to the Philippines by nameless wanderers from Indo-China or south China in the late Neolithic period. The distribution of lowland rice in Negros and Siaton municipality has been described. As one travels up the Siaton River valley, the cultivation of lowland rice disappears north of Barrio Sandolot where there are only a few pilapils (rice paddies).

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The Agricultural Calendar (pages 273, 274, 275, and 276)[1] does not present a sharp picture of farming activities. Table XV presents a more detailed account of the planting and harvesting of rice and corn, the two major crops of Caticugan

TABLE XV

AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR FOR RICE AND CORN
CATICUGAN, 1951

CROP	PLANTING BEGAN	PLANTING FINISHED	TRANSPLANTING BEGAN	TRANSPLANTING FINISHED
	Rice Seed Beds			
Lowland rice	June 19	July 14	August 22	September 26

1 [Category 116 -- Analyst]

TABLE XV (cont.)

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CORN	PLANTING BEGAN	PLANTING FINISHED	HARVEST BEGAN	HARVEST FINISHED
First irrigated corn	March 7	April 23	May 28	July 9
Second irrigated corn	June 19	June 25	August 27	September 2
First dry corn	April 27	May 12	August 4	August 29
Second dry corn	October 5	November 23	See Footnote 23	See Footnote 23

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The most popular rice variety planted in Siaton is Macan Sta. Rosa.

> The Macan Sta. Rosa is grown on a large scale in Nueva Ecija and Bulacan [provinces in Luzon]. It matures in about 180 days, giving an average production of about 60 cavans per hectare [or 24 cavans an acre]. It turns out a first-class rice of good eating quality.[24]

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Records of the provincial agricultural office in Dumaguete show that more than 75 per cent of the total acreage devoted to lowland rice in Siaton municipality is planted with Macan Sta. Rosa.

Table XVI[1] gives the varieties and acreage of lowland and upland rice planted in Siaton municipality in 1951, according to the Provincial Agriculture Office of Dumaguete.

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[23] The exact dates for the rice and the second non-irrigated corn harvests are not given since I arrived after the former was nearly finished and I left before the latter began.

[24] Uichanco, op. cit., I, p. 4.

1 [See p. 302, cat 245 or 311 -- Analyst]

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Corn stalks from the first paddy corn harvest are given to those who cut them. At this time the nearby grazing areas are green and fodder is plentiful. During the harvest or shortly afterwards men or young boys come to cut the stalks and carry them home for their animals. However, in the later corn and rice harvests the cultivators do not donate the harvested stalks. By this time the pastures have begun to dry up; the corn and rice stalks are retained by the owners for their own animals.

Local Harvest Migrations

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During July many people from Caticugan, the poblacion and nearby barrios go to Omanod to help in the corn harvest. Corn is usually harvested earlier in Omanod than in Siaton.[49] Omanod is situated in a small riverine plain in Sta. Catalina municipality, about three or four miles west of Barrio Bonawon. In 1951 people came from Bacong and Dauin to help in the Omanod corn harvest. Some took the bus and others from Siaton poblacion walked or rode horses. Women and young children outnumbered men. Several families in Caticugan and the poblacion left younger children under the care of an elder daughter while mother and father went to Omanod.

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[49] Siaton corn harvests sometimes occur before those of Omanod. Normally, however, the earlier rains of Omanod make it possible for the barriofolk to plant (and harvest) their corn before Siaton. However, in 1952, fewer harvesters went to Omanod from Siaton because both harvests occurred about the same period.

Most barriofolk go to Omanod to work as harvesters while some women and young girls go to barter bread, matches, used American clothing and other wares for corn. These vendors rarely sell their wares for money. They barter for corn, and get more corn than they could if they sold their articles. Sometimes, when the harvest is over, the vendors will sell their remaining merchandise rather than carry it home. Others go to Omanod solely to buy corn for the price is lower than in Siaton poblacion. The people usually stay with relatives or friends in Omanod during the harvest period.

Unhusked corn is usually stored in the house, the ears piled in a corner of the room or in a bin. Corn is not husked until it is ready to be shelled and ground. Lagit stones or sea shells may be put with the corn to protect it from the weevils that often do considerable damage. Perhaps only one out of every twenty families in Caticugan has a separate storehouse for corn. The average family's corn supply is small and consumed steadily so individual storehouses are unnecessary. Storehouses that exist are usually built near the residences, although in a few cases they may be at the field's edge. Theft is rare because many would be afraid to steal corn for fear of barang.[50]

[50] Barang is the belief in the supernatural ability of certain persons to cause illness or death to their enemies. These specialists are said to own magical bees that are trained to penetrate the victim's body at their owner's command. Several cases of deaths allegedly due to barang motivated by thievery were reported by the barriofolk of Caticugan.

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CHAPTER VI

HUNTING AND FOOD GATHERING

INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the hunting and food gathering activities in Catiougan.[1] The largest and most frequently hunted animal is the wild pig. Plants gathered are edible wild tubers, mushrooms, a few vegetables and various fruits. Some people trap pigeons, quail, doves and other wild birds. In emergencies the pith of several varieties of palms is processed into an edible flour. 221

Since most of the barriofolk exist at a dietary level which seems barely adequate, the food obtained by hunting and gathering, though usually small in amount, is relatively important. Between the harvests of the wet and dry season corn--the "starvation months"--most barriofolk spend more time gathering wild plants than in any other season. When the first corn harvest begins, the gathering activities decrease. The wild plants and tubers [511] [146]

[1] Gathering of aquatic snails and mollusks is included in Chapter VII, SECURING AQUATIC PRODUCTS.

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are regarded as inferior to their staples, except for fruits and mushrooms that are considered delicacies. Food gathering activities in Caticugan reflect inadequate harvests or small fields. If the fields' harvests and sizes were increased and the people less dependent on a somewhat erratically distributed precipitation, food gathering would almost entirely disappear. Under normal conditions only a minority of families regularly collect food each year; a poor corn harvest, however, increases considerably the number of collectors.

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WILD PIG HUNTING AND ASSOCIATED RITES

Besides being the most destructive wild animal in the Siaton River valley, the wild pig is the only animal hunted by the barriofolk, save for a few wild birds and a large iguana-type lizard, ibid. There are no monkeys in Caticugan and the men do not purposely hunt them, although they eat the meat if available. In the past wild deer were hunted near Caticugan with the bow and arrow, but both the deer and the bow and arrow have vanished. Many men hunt wild pigs with homemade spears. It is said in Caticugan that no one has ever owned a gun.

Wild pigs occur in the hills and mountains west and north of Caticugan. One young man killed twelve large pigs, "not counting the little ones," within several months; another man in Barrio Canaway killed twenty-three pigs in nine months. A noted hunter of Naga was said to have killed as many as fifty wild pigs in a year. Though the meat of the wild pig is stringy and tough, it is a not

The dogs receive little special training. When young they are taken on hunts with older, more experienced dogs and learn the necessary skills. One major purpose for having a dog, besides serving as a protector of the barrio residence, is to hunt pigs. One informant said: "The credit for all my successful hunts belongs to my dogs. This is why I always take good care of my dogs. I feed them well, just like my own children."[5]

The best places to hunt wild pigs are the sogon grass regions, around springs, or in areas where there are large boulders or many hollow logs where the pigs live. Oraeion's Magahat informants said another place to hunt pigs was the creeks where they liked to wallow. Localities where the bangkal (Nauclea junghuhnii (Miq.) Merr.) trees grow are said to be favorite haunts of wild pigs, for they eat the dropped fruit of this tree. A hunter of Barrio Canaway thought the best place to hunt wild pigs is near Barrio Calanan, but that there were many good sites as close as Sitio Balayagolang (Barrio Canaway). (See Plate XX, page 157.)

While wild pigs are hunted all year, hunting is done mostly during the dry season when traveling is easier in the hills and mountains. This is also the time when the cogon grass is burned and "it is easier for the dogs

[5]Some said if the table used in making an annual bood was discovered, the hunter would take a piece of the bamboo "and smoke his dogs." This would make the dogs brave and inordinately skillful in finding a wild pig scent.

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to find and follow the wild pigs." Some people believe that the wild pigs do not run as fast or as far as normal on Holy Friday for "they are then very grave." This is one of a number of beliefs associated with Holy Week in Caticugan.

When the pig is killed, division of the animal may be made in various ways. Apparently the most common division is one-half to the man who kills the pig, the remainder divided equally among the other hunters. If only one hunter has dogs, he receives two-thirds of the pig he kills and others share the remaining one-third. Some hunters said that if the "main hunter" (the one who held the annual bood) kills the pig he receives three-fourths and the others receive equal parts of the remainder. If another member of the group kills the pig, the "main hunter" receives only one-half, the man killing the pig one-fourth, and the remainder to the other members of the party. If the person who kills the pig is not a member of the hunting group he receives one-fourth of the animal, the "main hunter" one-half, and the remainder is divided among the rest. For example, a pursued boar might pass through a caingin where a man was watching his crops; if he killed the pig, one-fourth would be given to him. The head, liver, heart and tail always are given to the man who kills the pig.

Sometimes men who hunt without dogs are given one-half; or the meat may be divided according to the dogs they have on the hunt. The division is not standardized

It is a frequent saingin volunteer and one could see plants growing in poblacion vacant lots. Igao has been studied so there is some information on its nutritional value.[11] The igao's petioles are boiled and fed to the pigs (but never eaten by the people in Caticugan) while the corms are gathered for food.

All wild corms are dug during the dry or hot season. When the rainy season appears the roots become very fibrous and less agreeable to eat. It is fortunate for the barriofolk that the corms are most palatable during the period when they are most needed. With the coming of the rains the igao leafs out and the corms turn black. They may still be dug to feed to pigs but this is not a common practice in Caticugan. Barriofolk regard the corms as most palatable in March and April.

Both men and women dig for wild roots. However, when the roots are shallow and easily dug, women and children normally dig them. If the vines are very thorny

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[11] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 344. The Tagalog name for igao is pungapung. R. F. Bacon, "Starch Production in the Philippines," Phil. Journal of Science, A 3 (1908), states the highest yield of starch obtainable from the igao corms is 4.5 per cent; this study cited in Brown, ibid. More recent studies by Wester and Hermano give the following data on the constituents of the igao corm: moisture 77.8 (74.8) per cent; ash 1.3 (0.7); fat 0.13 (0.6); protein 1.4 (5.1); and giving 574 (1,000) calories per 2.2 pounds. Hermano's study is cited in Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 344-348. Hermano's figures are enclosed in (). P. J. Wester, The Food Plants of the Philippines. 3rd revised edition. Manila, Bureau of Agriculture Bulletin No. 39, Bureau of Printing, 1925, p. 218.

(kinogay), cooked in green bamboo tubes, or prepared in the sinakol manner (steam cooked), often mixed with tiktik or binlod (finely ground cornmeal). Sometimes the people from the northern barrios in the Siaton River valley come to Caticugan to barter this type of flour for corn and rice. This was not done, to my knowledge, during this field research. 252 [438]

Hunting and food gathering activities are related to the inadequate food supply of the barriofolk. The wild pig is not a serious agricultural problem in Caticugan and the meat is admittedly inferior to that of the domesticated pig. Most wild plants are considered as "emergency foods" to be gathered and eaten only when staples are low; i.e., when the corn and rice from the last harvest are low and new crops are not ready to harvest. For barriofolk during this period the foods collected may be important; however, this is true only of a minority in Caticugan unless there is a poor harvest or crop failure. 262 221 511 433

If the cultivated food supply were adequate all year long, hunting and, particularly, food gathering, probably would cease. Young men might continue to hunt wild pigs for sport and some wild foods would, most likely, be gathered (the "delicacies" such as mushrooms, lumboy, etc.). The role hunting and food gathering play in the daily life of the barriofolk of Caticugan today is a reflection of seasonal inadequacy of food supply and low living standards.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines OA1 576
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These two types of fish corrals, Leyte and Binatural, are found in Tanjay. (See Plate XLII.)[1] The Leyte fish corral is quite similar to the Siaton bonsod; the former is said to have been introduced to Tanjay by Leyte fishermen. The Leyte fish corral is built in depths thirty to sixty-five feet deep; whereas the Binatural is constructed in shallow waters; as a result the Binatural catches smaller fish. Two similar types of fish corrals are built in Siaton, the large bonsod, similar to the Quinavite and Leyte, and the smaller, shallow-water pahubas that resembles the Binatural and Natural. Siaton pahubas have a small trap, like the bobo, at the exit of the last section of the corral. (See Plate XLIII.)[2]

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Fish corral and bobo activities in Siaton are keyed to the monsoons. The southwest monsoon brings winds and rough seas that destroy the bonsods and make it difficult to lay or retrieve the bobo. Each year the bonsods are rebuilt and each year the southwest monsoon wrecks them, usually in July or August. Sometimes a typhoon sweeps across southern Negros, as in 1951 and 1952, destroying the bonsods earlier than usual. In 1951 all Siaton bonsods except one were destroyed by an early May typhoon; in 1952 the fish corrals were ruined by an early June typhoon. For this reason pelagic fish are less plentiful in Siaton during most of the rainy season.

1 [See p.575, cat. 226 -- Analyst]

2 [See p.575A, cat. 226 -- Analyst]

In Tanjay fish corrals are built in March and April and last until the northeast monsoon in November. In October, 1950, the fish corrals in this area were destroyed by early northeast winds. Sometimes, the people said, fish corrals are damaged even earlier by an east wind that they call timog.

The northeast monsoon destroys most of the fish corrals along Negros' eastern coast and fish supplies move from southern Negros to Dumaguete; during the southwest monsoon this situation is reversed. Little fresh fish, however, is brought to Siaton from Dumaguete for sale during the rainy season.

Older informants in Siaton said that once the most common type of fish corral was the Binatural; today's bonsod did not exist. A Binatural was built off Barrio Mantuyop in 1950 but, for the most part, this type is no longer used in Siaton. The fish catch, in the Binatural, was driven into the "last pocket" or section where it was scooped out with small hand nets (salok). One informant explained this type of fish corral "was very expensive to build and hard to catch the fish inside." This may partially explain why the Binatural is rarely built.

Siaton municipality's coastline is divided into three zones according to the abundance of fish normally caught in bonsods. The first class bonsod zone is from the Zamboanguita-Siaton municipality boundaries to Barrio Sumalaring "in front of the residence of Mr. ---- and the pandan tree." This zone is a most desirable location because